1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

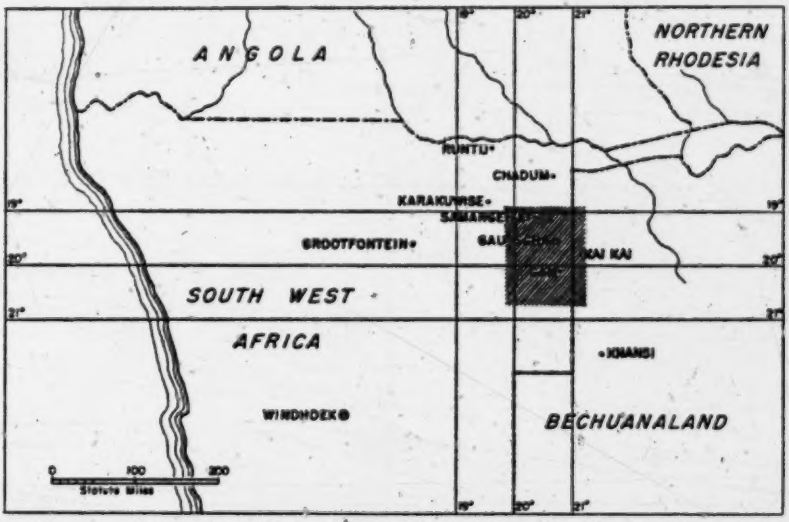
MARRIAGE AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

101 BECAUSE within the area we indicate by shading on the map[1] the /Kung Bushmen intermarry among themselves, by custom and preference, members of the Harvard Peabody Smithsonian Kalahari Expeditions needed a convenient way of referring to that area as a unit and arbitrarily called it the region of Nyae Nyae.

131 Nyae Nyae is a corruption of the /Kung name //Nua/ei. The name Nyae Nyae refers strictly to a group of pans in South West Africa (S.W.A.) centred approximately at Gautscha Pan at about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E. We extend the application of the name to an area around the pans of about 10,000 square miles, lying for the most part

[102]



Map of portions of South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola. The shading marks the Nyae Nyae region.

in S.W.A. but reaching some miles over the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (B.P.). There are no strictly conceived boundaries around the area. We can only vaguely define it by saying that it does not include Karakuwise to the west or Chadum to the north. It does not, we think, reach eastward much farther than Kai Kai, or southward much beyond Blaubush Pan (40 or 50 miles south of Gam).

101 582 [131] We establish the periphery of the region on the basis of statements made by /Kung informants in the interior. They say that they intermarry among the bands which live within the area we describe and do not customarily marry with other

[1] The sketch-map here provided is based on the [102] National Geographic *Map of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula*, March 1950, and the *Times Atlas of the World*, Vol. IV. The orientation of Gautscha is taken from the S.W.A. Surveyor-General's map dated at Windhoek 7:11:33.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 582 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 [648] The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 162 [621] About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants [177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 [114] My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 [595] [596] [611] [614] [835] /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 582 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi.

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare.

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju /ǒassi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons';

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sw'gnassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other. He places the name *'Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1936, p. 447) records as */Kū*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name *'Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kɔ̄*. The /Kɔ̄ are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral //), the /Kɔ̄ language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ʘ. The phrase *ju /ǒassi* has nothing to do with the /Kɔ̄.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu/?ōā:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khū, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju /nwasi*.

We think that the phrase *ju /ǒassi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju /ǒassi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dzo*, 'black people' or */goma* (or */koma?*),' animals without hooves'). They also use *ju /ǒassi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him.

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju /ǒassi*

/135 cont./

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological
141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ≠Auin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)		
Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters
Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)		
Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

The ≠Auin, as they call themselves and as they are known to
131 the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ≠Auin as ≠Au-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ≠Aukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ‡‡, which indicates the click.

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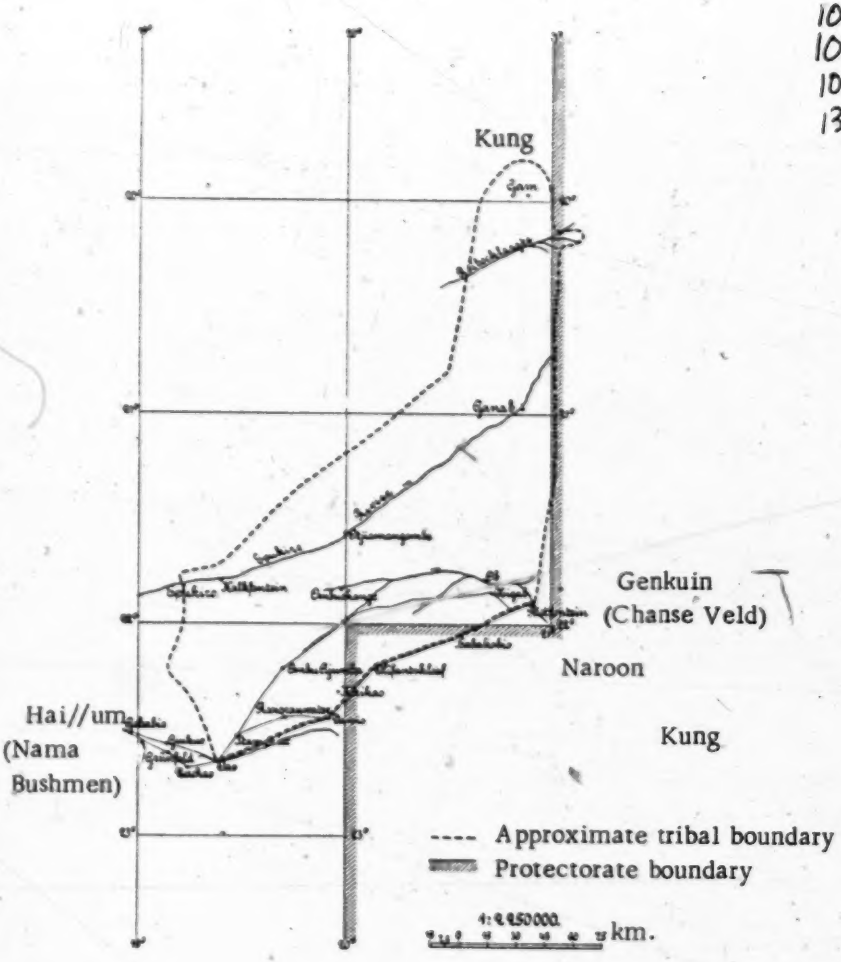

Map of the Auin Region

ANGOLA !KUNG WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

105 In their religious ideas, the moon plays the chief role. The new moon is supposed to be a child or a man; the full moon, a woman. They also say that the moon is the older sister, and the sun, the younger sister. Besides the moon, Huwe and //Gaua appear as mythical personages. Instead of Huwe, they also say //Nwa-se, "little new moon." Bleek believes that Huwe is the spirit of the forest, who causes the growth of trees and grass and thus also the growth of game, therefore determining the success or failure of the hunt. Whether or not Huwe is worshiped could not be determined. It is interesting to note what is said concerning //Gaua: "//Gaua is another being. The people from Ngami Lake give the word three meanings: dream, ghost, spirit. Among the Angola Bushmen it is used sometimes for ghost, and sometimes more impersonally. A woman said: When a person dies, a ghost (//Gaua) comes from his grave, which can be seen by the medicine men." Thunder and lightning come from //Gaua. The person struck by lightning becomes a star in the sky. The stars are the campfires of //Gaua. The Bushmen are supposed to be the children of //Gaua. He is a man who lives in the forest, and his home is a hole in the ground. An informant explained that //Gaua is equivalent to Ndjambi (god). There are two kinds of medicine men: those who can see the spirits, conduct the boys' initiations, and do the tattooing, while the second kind cures the sick.

Chapter 2

The Bushmen of the Western Otjimpolo Veld

122 In Shandi, among the eastern Ukuanjama [Kuanyama], I was able to establish contact with the Bushmen through the kindness of the Resident, Mr. Eaddes, and of the native pastor, Paulus.
101 In part, these Bushmen were genuine !Kung, who said they were the same as those from Karakowisa, with whom, however, a fruitful understanding was impossible; and in part they were people who called themselves !Kung, but, judging by their language and customs, are southern Bushmen of Amboland. They themselves say that their fathers came from Ongandjera. The following

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD
DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107]

Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

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AKUANAMBUA

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [439] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daugh-
262 ters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

[772] !Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba. The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine [774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu [171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 192 [101] Finally, a number of words indicate that these people are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(°)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(°)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(°)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(°)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[16 cont.]

[134] saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type
137 which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

●101 By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are
[131] divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in
174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated
144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

!KUNG

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
13) of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from
Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief,
the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung
people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani
and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the
leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother
Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notori-
ous Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

MASARWA OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals, from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo delta, J. Seiner reports:

"The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting. The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease. AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

OKOVONGGO BUSHMEN
NOGAU

[65 cont.]

000 and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in
105 five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley
[161] down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with
101 whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount
131 of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905, a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in
[161] eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning
[161] the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose
[161] number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an
101 opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

[113] 2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ǂno /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water.
101 They are farther north of the Omuhamba Epukiro toward Alexeck.
131 North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[10] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bush-
175 men on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game, they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
195 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

/241/

000 Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen (1), with an apdix on the languages of these Bushman Tribes (2).

1. Presented at the session of November 18, 1905 /of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/.

121 2. The linguistic notes on the language of the Heikum Bushmen were gathered on the Omuramba Omatako, while the linguistic notes concerning the Kung Bushmen were taken down in a Kung settlement on the northern edge of the Kaukau Veld, approximately 15 kilometers west of Dobe.

A stay of several months in the vicinity of a Bushman settlement near Otjomavare, a watering place on the Omuramba ua omatako, about 50 kilometers south of Grootfontein and 120 kilometers northeast of Waterberg, gave me the opportunity to make a series of observations on the Bushmen, which, I believe, in part presents new information and in part complements and confirms what is already known. My first concern was to determine the size of the Bushmen, who are traditionally known as abnormally small, by obtaining absolute measurements. A closer acquaintance with this interesting people then led me to make further investigations that will be of interest to the ethnologist and the ethnographer.

I had to manufacture in part the instruments needed for making the anthropological measurements, but I hope that this circumstance has not diminished the accuracy of the results.

101 [194] 124 The Bushmen concerned call themselves "Heikum" people, a name in which the 'k' is to be replaced by the click indicated in the Nama language by //. Thirty-one adults and eight children were measured.

Of the adults 14 are men and 17 women.

128 I shall first present the average values of the absolute measurements, and then a number of proportional figures and indices.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

AFRICA

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard.

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide.

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group.

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

'*Africa*', *the Journal of the International African Institute, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are responsible for the opinions expressed.*

[p. 1]

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the */Nu-//ẽin* or */Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *//Nu-//ẽin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *//Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuanaland Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among them are included the *†Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ẽin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Sau-‡gnassi* to the northeast and the *‡Küng* to the northwest. /01 /31

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Grootfontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in northwestern Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Kung* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari. /01 /31 /77 [174] [197] [582] [191] /97

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the latter half of the last century only a few individuals have survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct. /01 /31

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

greatly esteemed and is gathered from the crust of the pan in moist balls. Bushmen sprinkle the surface with water in order to roll up just the first layer where the salt lies. When the salt balls dry, Bushmen crumble them into their food, preferring salt to all sweet things and honey. Once when we asked some of the Gautscha people what they called themselves they replied with this phrase: "We are a salty people, who come from a salty place."

In the dry season, two hundred people came to Gautscha and lived in the bushes at the edge of the pan. This was an enormous number for any area to support, but all had indisputable rights to be there, for either their fathers had drunk at Gautscha or they had relatives whose fathers had; by the rather complicated system, any Bushman may drink water and gather veld food wherever his parents had a right to do so, or may live with either his parents, his brothers or sisters, or his wife at any place where the relative of his choice has rights. There was water but not much food at Gautscha, and all the people got thin and very hungry and sat around their fires at night with sweat pouring from their bodies but with nothing to eat; to make matters worse, one man coming for a visit proved to be ill and gave his disease to everyone. It was a disease that caused vomiting, high fevers, chest pains, and nosebleeds of great intensity—a woman whom I tried to cure bled all one morning with blood squirting from her nostrils, pouring down over her arms and hands and dripping from her elbows, making a dark pool on the ground. The disease struck all the people, from the youngest infants to the oldest grandparents, and all the people lay for days scattered all over the ground, too ill to move. We did everything we could, of course; we provided food and medicine, firewood and water, and took turns staying up all night to nurse the people. As it happened, everyone got better within fourteen

11:Marshall E-8 (1950-1965) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Hunting is mankind's oldest—and least rewarding—way of life. Among its last practitioners are the Kalahari Bushmen

PART I

A PEOPLE, small of stature, few in numbers, calling themselves "!Kung," but who are called "Bushmen" by others, live today in a tremendous depression, half-a-continent wide and sunken in the southern African plateau—by name, the Kalahari Desert Basin. They live on the huge floor of this Basin, near one of its imperceptible sides. It is an open land—large to the point of vagueness, under a limitless sky. There is a word used frequently by the other inhabitants of this Basin—mostly black-skinned peoples—to define the different cultural groups now living there. The word is "nation." One speaks of the Herero nation, the Chuana nations, the Okavango nations. To follow this usage, one would speak of the !Kung nation of *Nyae Nyae*—one among several Bushmen nations. [The prefix, (!), indicates one of the so-

WORLDLY GOODS of a !Kung family are arrayed, *above*, preparatory to moving camp. The number of belongings cannot exceed family's carrying capacity.

. 11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 called "clicks" that mark the speech of the Bushmen. Distinction is made between four classes of "click": the dental (/), lateral (//), palatal (≠), and alveolar (!)—ED.]

But "nation" is a new word, recently arisen in the vocabulary of a country whose people are struggling to define themselves in present times. The !Kung, who know who they are, do not yet need it. For, besides !Kung, which they use rarely, they call themselves *Dzu/oassi*. *Dzu/oassi* can be interpreted as "the people" in opposition to "the animals," for example, or as "the perfect people," or, indeed, as "the only people."

Unlike other nations, the Bushmen practice no agriculture, domesticate no animals. They are hunting and gathering peoples. But all the nations 133 —Bushmen, Bantu and white alike— who live in the Kalahari Basin must

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominently of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient ethnological information to justify their inclusion.

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled History, was included because it was felt that the earliest references to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest, in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushmen and other races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced in such historical works as J. Sutherland, Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Bosjesmans of South Africa and Donald Moodie, The Record

The main body of the Bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion in this section. The items included in the small section entitled Bushman Folklore, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on Linguistics is purely restricted to works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is, being done. The section entitled General, contains work not sufficiently scientific to be included under Ethnology, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this date, appear in History.

Surveys. Mendelssohn, South African Bibliography provided some of the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples of South Africa and the Johannesburg Public Library's Index to South African Periodicals was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.C. Marwick, and Mr. C. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. Manuel Guerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kindly allowing me access to his bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department.

23. MENTZEL, O.F.
A complete and authentic geographical and topographical description of the famous and (all things considered) remarkable, African, Cape of Good Hope... translated from the original German by C.V. Marais and Dr. T. Hodge. Rev. and ed. by H. J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town, 1944. originally published in 1787. Part 3 vol. 2 of German ed. 113

p. 260-263 The Bushmen of the Cape Province
p. 308-309, 330, 332, 334 Battles between Bushman and settlers described

24. MOFFAT, Robert
Missionary Labours and scenes in Southern Africa. London, 1842. 624 p. illus.

p. 6-14 Origin and history of the Bushmen
p. 49-64 History of Kitcheper's mission to the Bushman. This section includes a description of their way of life.

25. MOODIE, Donald and PHILIP, John
Correspondence between Donald Moodie, Esq. compiler and editor of the Cape Records and the Rev. John Philip D.D. relative to the production for publication of alleged "official authority" for the statement that in the year 1774 the whole race of Bushmen or Hottentots who had not submitted to servitude was ordered to be seized or extirpated. Cape Town. n.d. 76 p.

26. MOODIE, Donald, comp.
The record: or a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa. Cape Town, 1960.
Bushmen also known as Soaqua, Obiqua, Soeswa, Strandloopers, Vischman, Waterman. [101]

27. MOSSOP. E.E. ed.
The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) with an English translation by A.W. van der Horst, and The journals of Jacobus Coetsé Jansz (1760) and William van Reenen (1791) with an English translation by Dr. E.E. Mossop. Cape Town, 1935.
In these journals Bushmen are referred to as: Chaboup, Thaboek, Thaboeba and Samgomomka. The journals contain numerous references to the Bushmen, their hunting methods and social customs. [101]

28. PRINGLE, Thomas
Narrative of a residence in South Africa. London, 1834. 116 p. [104]

p. 77-80 Pringle believed the Bushman to have originally been a pastoral people. Commandos against them described.

29. SHAW, Barnabas
Memorials of Southern Africa by Barnabas Shaw, Wesleyan missionary resident in the country nearly twenty years. London, 1834. 346 p.

p. 27-33 Bushmen customs and appearance

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

37. TRANSACTIONS of the London Missionary Society Vol. 1. From its institution in the year 1795 to the end of the year 1802. 413

p. 325-341 Mission to the Bushman. Gives a description of their way of life but none of their beliefs

38. TRANSACTIONS of the London Missionary Society in the years, 1803,1804, 1805 and 1806. vol. 2. 1806.

p. 1-23 Mission to the Bushman by Kitchener

39. VAN DER STEL, Simon
Simon van der Stel's journal of his expedition to Namaqualand, 1685-1686 ed. from the MSS in the library of Trinity College Dublin by Gilbert Waterhouse. Dublin, 1932. 183 p. illus.

Contains references to contact with the Bonquas

40. VAN RIEBEECK, Jan
Journal edited with introduction and footnotes by H.B. Thom. Cape Town, 1952. 3 vols. frontis. map.

The first contact between Bushmen and Whites at the Cape. Bushmen also referred to as Soaqua, Sonqua and Souqua. [10]

103. LEBZELTER, Viktor
Eine Expedition zur umfassenden. Erforschung der Buschmänner in Südafrika. illus. 113

Anthrop. 22: 244-246. 1927
571-575

104. LEBZELTER, Viktor
Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest-und Südafrika: wissenschaftliche ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise nach Süd-und Sudwestafrika in den Jahren 1926-1928. Leipzig, 1934. 306 p. illus.

p.5-106 Bushmen

(Deals with Angola Bushmen. ǂ Kung, Hei//om, Lake Chrissie, S.W.A. Historical references to Basutoland and Transkei Bushmen; a thorough study of social life and customs, beliefs etc. Excellent photographs of various Bushman types, their weapons and utensils). [101] [114] ●

105. LEWIN, Louis
Neue Untersuchungen Über die Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner

Z. für Ethn. 44: 831-837

(Deals largely with the poisons used).

106. LOGIN, A.C.
Preliminary notes on some Bushman arrows from South West Africa. illus.

S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 32: 553-559. Nov. 1935.

107 LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY REPORT
The Masarwa (Bushmen) report of an enquiry by the South African District committee of the L.M.S. 1935. 33 p.

108. LUKENBEIN, A.
Der Buschmanns-revolver

Arch. für Anth. N.F. 19: 173-177. 1923

109. LUSCHAN, F. von
Bericht Über eine Reise in Südafrika.

Z. für Ethn. 38(6) 863-895, 1906.

110. LUSCHAN, F. von
Buschmann-Einritzungen aus Straussenei-orn. illus.
Z. für Ethn. 55(1): 31-40. 1923.

111. MACRAE, F.B.
The Batwa in the Broken Hill district of Northern Rhodesia, map.

N.A.D.A. 7: 63-75. 1926.
(very brief account of the Batwa of the swamps, in which they are compared with the Balemji).

161. STANFORD, W.E.
Statement of Silayi with reference to his life among the Bushmen, Trans. Roy. Soc. S.Afr. 6: 435-440. 1910.
(Silayi, a Tembu, lived with Bushmen for three years). 113

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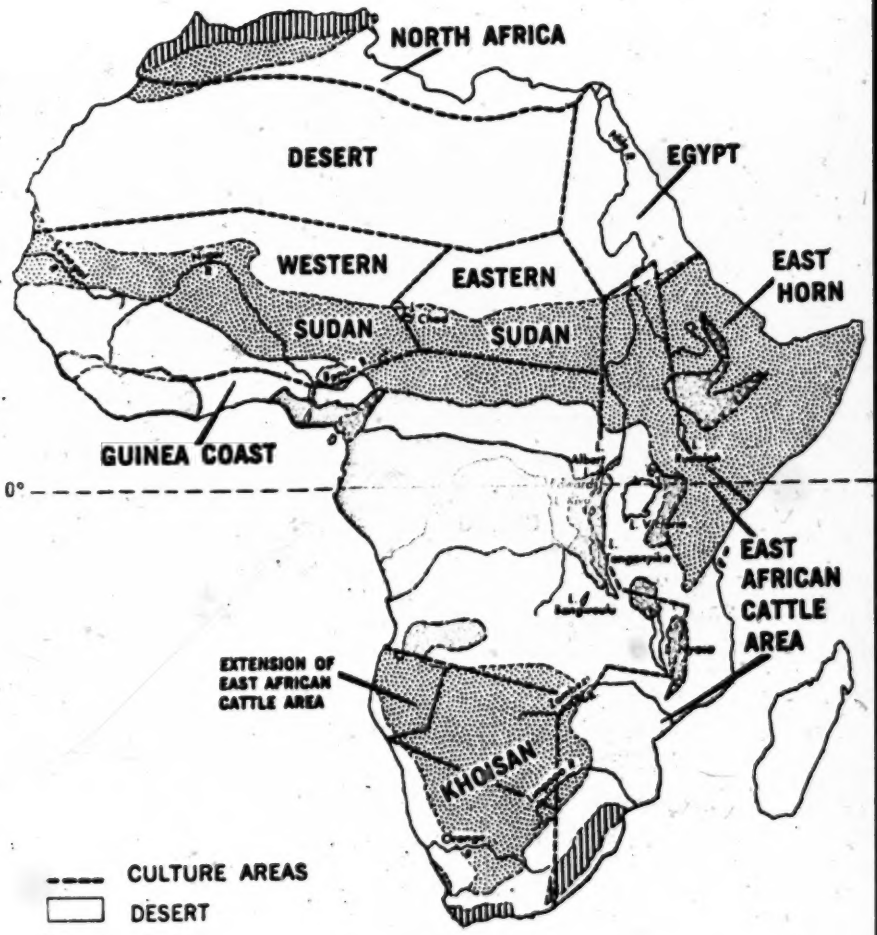
AFRICA: CULTURE AREAS AND VEGETATIONAL ZONES



[Front Map 1]
[p. i]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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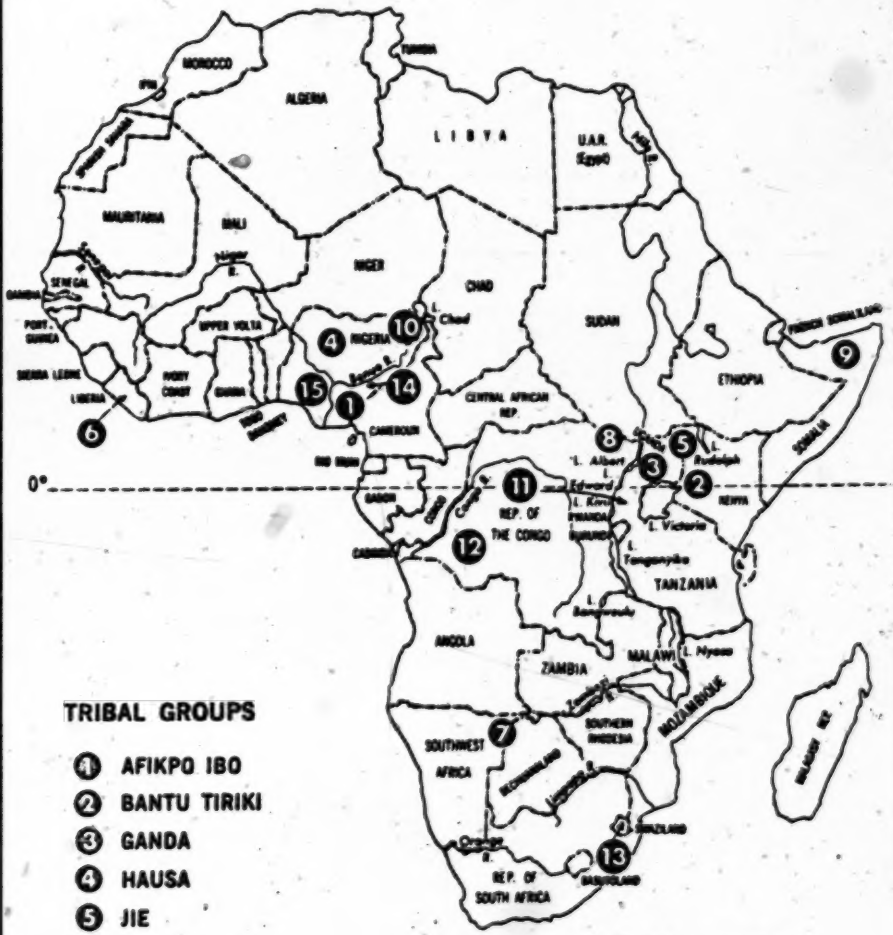
AFRICA: TRIBAL LOCATIONS AND POLITICAL BOUNDARIES, 1964



TRIBAL GROUPS

1. AFIKPO IBO
2. BANTU TIRIKI
3. GANDA
4. HAUSA
5. JIE
6. KPELLE
7. !KUNG BUSHMEN
8. MBUTI PYGMIES
9. NORTHERN PASTORAL SOMALI
10. PASTORAL FULANI
11. RWANDA
12. SUKU
13. SWAZI
14. TIV
15. YORUBA

[Front Map 2]
[p. ii]

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7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimizing of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with members of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ðasi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkōs*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

p. 256

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 553 601 602 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 613 622 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time 768 of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 648 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

101 non-Bantu, click-speaking peoples with a tradition of hunting and gathering in their recent past. Thus we may define Bushmen as members of tribes who are acknowledged to be "sarwa" by themselves and others. The term "sarwa" thus includes peoples of varying physical type and economy, and of four distinct linguistic stocks within the click family of languages. The one characteristic common to them all is the tradition of hunting and gathering. The economic and linguistic divisions will be elaborated below.

Numbers and distribution

161 114 The Bushmen are numerically stronger than has been generally supposed. Estimates such as Schapera's 7,000-7,500 (1930), Keith's 6,000 (1948), and Coon's "few hundred" (1955) are far too low. Despite Tobias' careful estimate of 55,000 living Bushmen (1957), the older misconceptions still persist. As recently as 1963, Bohannan estimated the numbers of living Bushmen in the hundreds (Bohannan 1963:213).

162 127 The author's estimate, based on data available in 1964, shows a total figure rather smaller than that of Tobias' 55,000. It is estimated that there are about 44,100 Bushmen alive today. This figure is based on published sources and unofficial government estimates for Bechuanaland. For South West Africa, the figures are adapted from the Odendaal Commission Report (Republic of South Africa, 1964). For Angola,

197 c. -ŋ/huki; also known as ǂkhomani (Doke 1936) and //n-!ke (Bleek 1929). A very small group now confined to the Gemsbok Park.

The numerical strength of the various Tshu-khwe and Bush languages are estimated as follows:

Xũ (Kwengo)	2,000
Shua (Danisin etc.)	3,000
//gabake (Hiechware etc.)	10,000
Deti (Tletle)	2,000
Kharo (/gwi, //gana etc.)	9,000
Bush A (!Kung)	13,000
Bush B (ǂhũa)	1,600
Bush C (ŋ/huki)	50
TOTAL	40,650

The remaining 3,450 Bushmen of the estimated total of 44,100 include over 3,000 Hai//om (Heikum) in South West Africa. These people speak a dialect of Nama Hottentot and have a tradition of hunting and gathering although only a small proportion do so today. Also included in the remainder are a small group of people around Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal. They are locally known as Batwa and number less than one hundred. Westphal includes them as his Bush D language and calls them "//xegwi." (See also Lanham and Hallowes 1956; Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955).

[101] [114]

The !Kung Bushmen

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162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

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19 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).

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[193] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

551 553 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauŝa Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauŝa, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 131 162 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa. [241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1] Unpublished evidence on the southern ǂhũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

101 131 162 [241] [197] 551 [184] Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions have the institution of the name relationship.

101 The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ" meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all.

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, ǃkung, //Khun, /Xũng, ǂhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, :un, !Kung.

• 101 appelation "!Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division !Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them ǂAuin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), ǂAo-//ǽin (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name ǂd"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the !Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the !Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The !Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the ǂd"au//ae (north side) people".

[197] [184] Since all three groups, calling themselves !Kũ, zũ/wãsi, and ǂd"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name !Kung be adopted as the tribal appelation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] [224] [222] Of the three geographical divisions of !Kung, full time independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the central group.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY OF THE KHOISAN

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BY the year 1652, when the establishment of the pioneer Dutch settlement at Table Bay laid the foundations for the present political dominance of the white man in the country, Africa south of the Zambesi River was already inhabited by a considerable number of different native peoples. On the basis of racial, linguistic and cultural distinctions, these native inhabitants are customarily classified into four separate groups, known respectively as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Bergdama, and the Bantu.

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The Bushmen, at one time spread over almost the whole of South Africa, are to-day confined principally to the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and adjacent districts. They are a short, brownish-yellow people, with certain peculiar and distinctive racial characteristics; they all speak languages of a uniform and easily recognizable type, phonetically remarkable especially for the great prevalence of "click" consonants; and they live in small nomadic bands which lead a purely hunting and collecting existence, practising neither agriculture nor pastoralism.

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The Hottentots formerly occupied most of the western half of the region, but are now found chiefly in the southern parts of South-West Africa. They are closely allied to the Bushmen in race, and their languages are of a somewhat similar type, although in both respects certain differences are also observable. They are, however, a predominantly pastoral people, keeping cattle and sheep, and live in larger communities with a more complex system of social organization.

The Bergdama, also inhabiting South-West Africa, are racially a true negro people, different in appearance from both the Bushmen and the Hottentots. They all, however, speak the language of the Nama division of Hottentots, to whom they have long been in subjection. Like the Bushmen they live in very small nomadic groups and derive their subsistence primarily from hunting and collecting, although some of them also keep goats.

The Bantu, finally, although historically the most recent native people settling in South Africa, are now spread over the whole country

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld.

Tribal Divisions

The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa(n)qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained.

The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek,

[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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621 101 *Igom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 101 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tanneckwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechwara* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kŭ* the "forest people", while the */kŭ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 [197] The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 [623] [622] The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 30.

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South Nguni

The woman, partly through submissiveness to her husband, partly because equally curious to see strange people of a different garb, started out on the journey after a day or two of preparation, dressed in her best garments. She had an escort of thirty or forty Chainouquas for company and for protection against others, especially against the Kochoquas, with whom the Chainouquas were then at war. But while on the way she was attacked unawares by the Kochoquas in a big wood and killed. Her ornamentation, valuables and garments were all trodden under foot, and her escort put to flight. Leaving behind two or three men, they made for the Cape and Chaihantimo, to whom they reported the news of the tragedy. Thereupon he departed instantly to his own country with his people, in order to revenge himself in war against the Kochoquas for this outrage; but he was far too weak in numbers against them.[37])

SONQUAS.

The Sonquas[38]) are a people dwelling in massive mountainous country. They number several thousands, and are very small in size, both men and women. They have no cattle, but live by shooting rock-rabbits[38a]) with the bow and arrow, which they use with remarkable skill. The rock-rabbits have their retreats under the rocks, on top of which they come to bask and play about during the heat of the day; the Sonquas then hit and shoot them down in great numbers with their arrows. They also go out hunting

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flight and returned to the great chief of the Chainuquas, who is said with his army to have gone to Chobona to ask for justice in the face of this insult, and assistance to revenge it" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 92-3; D., Dec. 31, 1658). Chaihantima appeared again at the Fort in 1661, when van Riebeeck drily remarks: "this is the same who had told us such stories about his wife having been brought up at the court of the Chobonas, having worn many jewels, and afterwards been killed by the Cochoquas. Though he still adheres to them, we can no longer believe him" (D., Aug. 3, 1661).

[38]) Sonqua, Souqua, Sanqua, etc., is the name applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen, and according to Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 3) is derived from the root *sa* (plur. *san*), meaning "aborigines or settlers proper". It is significant that van Riebeeck does not mention them at all in the list of tribes prepared for his successor, although they figure often enough in his journal. He says of them: "They are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assagays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives" (D., Oct. 31, 1657); and again: "The Soaquas, a tribe without cattle, dwelling beyond, among the mountains of Africa, and mostly robbers" (D., Nov. 8, 1660).

[38a]) *Hyrax capensis*, still commonly known in S. Africa as "dassies."